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[For the author's predictions and projections on the future of Papago migratory farm labor (employment and wage levels, recruiting and labor relations, labor camp living conditions and sanitary facilities) in view of probable technological and economic changes in regional commercial agriculture, see category 116, pp. 99-135.]

362 At dusk when breezes are still and hundreds of
361 trucks and cars have returned from the fields to labor camps, stirring up dirt roads, a choking dust pall rises all over the cotton growing valleys. The picker gets his last view of the distant mountains each night through this low hanging dust cloud.

[312] Probably because of the permanent water shortage in both counties, none of the cotton farmers has seen fit to plant cover crops on his labor camp grounds. Nor have any farmers been concerned enough over dust problems to oil either section line roads or camp grounds.

SOCIAL CONTROLS IN LABOR CAMPS

466 Apparently the main desire of many cotton farmers
361 is to have as little to do with their labor camps as
364 possible. This is reflected in the generally messy appearance of the uncared-for grounds in unsupervised camps. It is a rare camp without cotton or tin cans or paper or garbage or all four scattered about.

186 However, lack of supervision is not the only reason
361 southern Arizona labor camp grounds are generally messy
364 looking and not very hygienic. One primary reason for dirty camps is their very nature. Their population is temporary and transient, without any sentimental ties to or pride in the camps. As a result, laborers simply do not care about the appearance of camps, and do not bother to keep them clean. It is interesting to note the exceptional labor camps in the region where workers are employed on a year-round basis, and have time to form some attachment to the camp. Even if these year-round workers must live in tents, they make some attempt to beautify the camp grounds. They try to grow a patch of lawn, or a few straggling castor bean plants, or a rose or some iris—and they keep the grounds around their dwellings neat and clean. An urge to grow something seems especially strong among the Desert People and the Mexican-Americans.

621 Besides this factor of length of residence in labor
361 camps, there is another aspect of social organization in-
364 volved in so many camps being dirty—with operators having a difficult time coercing residents into cleaning them up. This is the fact there is no real social organization extending through the whole camp. The laborers are a miscellaneous lot generally hired as they come

621 along, and shunted into cabins as they arrive. They do
361 not realise they have a community of interest in keeping
364 their camp clean--there is no organized social sanction in the camps to force uncooperative residents to clean up, so everyone is lax.

This is especially pronounced in labor camps with residents of more than one ethnic background. Cultural differences in living habits of different peoples are not often in the consciousness of camp operators who wrongly assume everyone lives or should live just as they do. But those differences lead to a breakdown of cleanliness in the camps.

364 The Desert People are extremely careful around their
464 own homes on the reserves, and a Papago yard is one of
626 the cleanest spots imaginable, although it may be littered with stray pieces of furniture and tools. So administrators are puzzled over Papago slovenliness in labor
[35] camps. The answer seems to be found in their pattern of hiring out. The Desert People go to work as family units with residents of a reserve town scattering to several labor camps. As a result, the primary sanction in Papago community life, the fear of being talked about,[1] loses its effect. Being talked about by laborers of other races does not produce action by the Desert People that talk in their home community would. The same is true of other people in labor camps--being talked about by members of other ethnic groups is not strong enough a sanction to move them to act. In fact, such talk is likely to produce an opposite reaction because of inter-group
621 frictions. Labor camps housing laborers of more than
571 one racial origin are studies in social disorganization
626 resulting in general breakdown in normal social controls,
178 resulting in dirty camp grounds, excesses of gambling, women going to work from different cabins each morning, etc.

364 Usually the Desert People in labor camps keep the grounds around their own cabins reasonably clean, but farmers hiring all or nearly all Papago laborers are surprised and puzzled when their camps are almost as dirty as camps housing several ethnic groups. They order the Papago "chief" to clean up the camp, but nothing usually happens until the grower gives in and hires someone to clean the camp up.

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[1] Joseph, Spicer & Chesky, 1949, p. 53.

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514 on the maximum number of persons of that sex living in the camp at any one time, in the ratio of 1 to 20.

"(c) All water closets or privies shall be readily accessible to the living quarters and shall in no case be more than 200 feet distant from any shelter they serve, nor less than 150 feet from the nearest source of water supply, kitchen, or mess hall.

"(d) Each toilet room shall be lighted naturally, or artificially by a safe type of lighting, at all hours of the day and night. Adequate screened ventilation openings shall be provided.

"(e) An adequate supply of toilet paper shall be provided in each privy or water closet compartment."[1]

The labor camp outhouses are unlabeled (humorists in one camp had designated one for the "Foreman" in large white letters), and unlighted. Few are ventilated, and those which are usually are not screened.

GARBAGE DISPOSAL

• 364 In southern Arizona labor camps other health hazards than unscreened outhouses are numerous--thousands ot bits of garbage scattered about camp grounds. While harvest hands tend to purchase a high proportion of ready-to-eat foods to escape the serious difficulties of cooking in the camps (and end up with stomach disorders from eating prepared foods requiring refrigeration which doesn't exist in the camps), they still have an abundance of garbage left when they finish a meal. Its disposal is a sanitary problem not yet satisfactorily solved by labor camp owners. The suggested labor camp code we are holding southern Arizona camps up against for comparison furnishes a standard for this situation:

"Article 8. Garbage and Refuse Disposal for Shelters

"(a) Fly-tight metal containers approved by the State department of health shall be provided for the collection of garbage and re-

[1] Federal Interagency Committee on Migrant Labor, 1947, p. 41.

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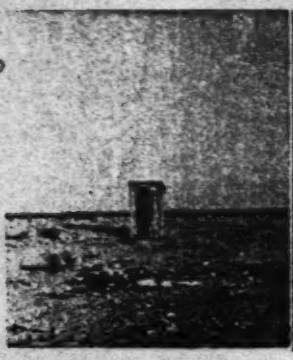

Cotton growers build outhouses . . . like obscene jokes on the landscape . . .

and the Desert People take a poor example home . . . in worse materials.

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Garbage cans were hardly fly-tight . . . or emptied often enough . . .

and when they were, not in sanitary places . . . but in washes like the Santa Cruz.

[Arizona Labor Camps]

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fuse. At least one such container shall be located within 100 feet of each shelter on a wooden or concrete stand.

"(b) Incinerators or trash burners shall be provided in every camp for burning combustible rubbish.

"(c) Facilities for washing garbage cans shall be provided at every labor camp.

"(d) When garbage receptacles are full, and at least three times a week and oftener if necessary, the garbage and refuse shall be removed. In hot weather garbage containers shall be emptied and thoroughly cleaned daily.

"(e) Garbage, combustible refuse, and rubbish shall be disposed of by incineration or by burial in a pit, or by transportation to a properly maintained and operated sanitary fill approved by the State board of health or such other methods as they may approve."[1]

The conditions which would be found under this system are found in very few if any southern Arizona labor camps. In Pima county in 1950 about three-fifths of the camps provided 50 gallon metal drums for garbage, spotted through the camps. Workers were expected to deposit their refuse in them, and they were hauled off periodically and dumped. The most frequent regular interval of collection mentioned to the author was once a week. The favorite dumping ground in the Marana area was the channel of the Santa Cruz river where the next flood could be depended upon to wash the refuse downstream to plague the Eloy-Picacho area. The metal drums [415] provided were converted oil drums without covers--not a single covered, fly-tight garbage container was seen in the course of this study. Nor was a single one of these garbage cans seen on any sort of stand: concrete, wood or otherwise. In camps where garbage cans were not provided, garbage was dumped in a pit dug near the camp, or in an arroyo handy to the cabins (where it would wash downstream into the Santa Cruz to plague the Marana area) or burned on the ground or more rarely in a concrete incinerator.

In the main cotton producing county, Pinal, about half the camps had no garbage disposal arrangements in 1950 other than piling refuse on the grounds and/or

[1]Federal Interagency Committee on Migrant Labor, 1947, p. 42.

[Arizona Labor Camps]

364 [415] burning it there. Perhaps two-fifths of the camps in the county were provided with 50 gallon metal drums for refuse, but like those in Pima county, they lacked covers, and sat on the ground instead of a stand. Collections were just as irregular as in the smaller cotton growing area. Garbage collection was a sanitary joke in many Pinal county labor camps, for about three-fifths of the farmers providing garbage cans carried them no farther than across the road or somewhere on the camp grounds to dump them. This practice made many fine homes for wandering flies in the hot fall months of 1950.

One farmer hiring Papago irrigators derived some benefit from his workers' scraps--and probably kept as clean a camp as any--by keeping a large flock of geese which roamed freely through his camp cleaning up the grounds.[1]

WATER SUPPLY

312 The water workers drink has a very important effect on their health, and for labor camps the suggested code calls for less water than each laborer should have in southern Arizona with its extremely high temperatures and abnormally dusty conditions. So the suggested code may be considered lenient for southern Arizona conditions.

"Article 3. Water Supply

"(a) An adequate and convenient supply of water of quality approved by the State board of health shall be provided in each camp for drinking, culinary, bathing and laundry purposes.

"(b) A water supply shall be deemed adequate if and when it is capable of delivering 35 gallons per person per day to the camp site at a rate two and one-half times the average hourly demand.

"(c) The distribution lines shall be capable of supplying water at normal operating pressures to all fixtures for simultaneous operation and water outlets shall be distributed throughout the camp in such a manner that no shelter is more than 100 feet from a yard hydrant or similar outlet.

[1] Statements on garbage disposal are based on information gathered on 14 Pima county and 18 Pinal county camps.

000 prove. In 5 to 10 years, skilled farm laborers will be living in very comfortable quarters indeed.

369 484 Inevitably, in any rural farm area, certain problems remain even when farm housing is adequate or above standard. Farms are relatively isolated from towns with their opportunities for organized recreation, and their churches and doctors and hospitals. This isolation is little problem for the comparatively well to do cotton grower with his pickups and Buicks. But for the automobile-less majority of the Desert People working on farms all the time, such isolation is serious. They are cut off from other Papagos, from efficient shopping, medical care, recreation, and religious rites. Probably car ownership will increase among this group of Papagos, but their wage scale will not be high enough to enable them to solve their difficulties quickly.

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000 Dr. Laura Thompson, who quarterbacked the Indian Personality Studies of the early 1940's (which studied the Papago among other tribes), has called for administrative action designed to meet needs both of stay-at-home Desert People and farm labor migrants.

> "It is recommended, therefore, that if improvement of the welfare of the Papago be the aim, the focus of administrative and tribal planning may well be to foster the new, constructive dual life pattern with its reservation base in cooperative family life with traditionally agricultural roots and herding economy counterbalancing the recently developed migratory labor cycle. This would involve a two-sided program pointed toward improving and developing the reservation base and conditions on one hand, and toward meeting the specific problems of Papago migratory workers on the other.[1]

● 364 951 944 000 One of the very specific problems of migratory workers among the Desert People--as well as the non-migrants--is health. There is no doubt that Papagos are exposed to deplorable health menaces in labor camps. But at the same time there is no doubt that they do not know how to protect themselves adequately. This lack of

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[1] Thompson, 1951, p. 72.